

## FRANK WALSH TALKS.

### Chairman of Industrial Relations Commission Delivers Speech before Assembly of Railway Employees.

Chas. Mathis, who represented the locomotive firemen and engineers at their convention, held at Denver, Colo., sends the Kicker a copy of a speech delivered by Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission. Mr. Mathis asks that I print the speech, but I have not the space to give it in full.

Mr. Walsh is a Democrat, but not of the sort that get into office. The plates will never forgive congress for putting him on a commission to investigate the causes of unrest among the workers. That commission was composed of nine members—three representing Capital; three representing Labor; and three representing the public. Mr. Walsh was one of the three representing the public and was chosen chairman. Addressing the Trainmen he said:

"You know the storm that that report raised in Congress and in many states, and I stand here to say that after one year of discussion—after one year of the bitterest and closest analysis—there is not a single fact contained in that report which has been protested by any authority, high or low, in government or out of government."

"Now, to briefly state what we did find: That investigation called for the introduction of something like one thousand witnesses in a public hearing, including three hundred of the leading employers of labor in the United States."

"We found one potent fact that stood out undenied—that the necessity of this country was compelling that there should be collective bargaining in industry."

"That proposition was assented to by every great employer of the United States, save two, that appeared before our commission. It was found, and readily conceded, that in the basic industry the single individual had no opportunity to bargain in any way that would raise him to the level of independent citizenship and give him an economic place in the field of every-day life that the citizenship of this country called for."

"Now, we learn something, my friends, that will have a great bearing on the question that is so close to our hearts and minds today, and that is that there are certain elementary and underlying principles that must never be lost, that absolute inhere in the very form of our government, and in the very form of our productive organization that goes over beyond what even can be done by collective bargaining and gets down to the original and fundamental rights of mankind."

"The great evil—the great mistake that befalls the nation, that has brought about all ills of the industrial body politic is I venture to assert, in my humble opinion, the idea that one human being can acquire a right in the labor of another human being. No such right can be found to exist in any governmental body or any student of economics. It is true that that thought goes all through the industrial system, it seems to be permeating, it goes through every system of production that perhaps the world has ever known, until we reach a system of production under a democracy, but under no form of social organization can there be either political freedom or political democracy unless there is industrial democracy still going all through the body politic. It is true that that thought goes all through the industrial system, it seems to be permeating, it goes through every system of production that perhaps the world has ever known, until we reach a system of production under a democracy, but under no form of social organization can there be either political freedom or political democracy unless there is industrial democracy still going all through the body politic."

"There is one right that no human being can deny us and that is the right to live. Correlative with the right of being or the right of existence is man's inalienable right to labor—his right to earn a living. God, the Divinity—nature—has provided the only means by which mankind can maintain life, being the field and the stream, and if his activities are obstructed or stopped or deranged, then the whole body becomes a deranged and sick thing, and God gave us one way for a man to earn the right to live. He gave everyone a way to carry out his mandates that man must earn his bread in the sweat of his face, and that was the land to till, the land to make productive, the rivers of the earth to fish in, the air to breathe and cause production, and I might say here today that before we get a final solution for the ills that afflict the industrial body, we must come back to the proposition that man has a right to the land just as he has to the air to breathe and the water to drink, and until he gets down to the main proposition that there can be no just title to land, except through use, we will be floundering in the slues of industrial despair so long as we live."

"But it has been truly said, my friends, by someone that after all mankind is driven to do his chiefest good, and therefore you are here to say what you may do to advance your right, if I understand the spirit that animates you. Therefore, I am here to

make my humble suggestion, correlative again with the right to live, of course, comes the right to a living wage, and I say that any system of collective bargaining will be but another system of slavery, or another opportunity of welding chains upon human beings that does not start out with the proposition that the right to a living wage is far beyond collective bargaining, arbitration or anything else. But this I want to say to you: From the investigation I have made, an industry in my opinion should not live that does not pay a living wage to every man in that industry—a wage that measures up to what they call American standards. The people ought to consider it an embargo upon the activities of their government and insist on the necessary keeping alive of the people—on the maintenance of the right to live and such an industry should be taken over so that the workers could conduct it co-operatively for themselves, or the government could conduct it in order to keep life in the people dependent on that industry. Our investigations, however, show us that there is no such industry in the United States, that the industries that are the greatest offenders against the law of life, are those that can well afford to pay a living wage and do not do so."

"I am now going to talk about the workers known throughout this country as tenant farmers, who are exploited in a way such as have never been known in any industry before. Every single one of these men is a menace to the job of every man sitting in this hall today and every other protected worker in this country. In some states and communities the average living wage is estimated at something slightly over \$800 per year. We found in the state of Texas that farm tenants have increased in twenty years almost fifty per cent, and that fifty per cent of farms operated under this tenancy system increased from 65,000 families to 210,000. We found that a family is known as a working force—that the children are worked from the age of six years and women under conditions that are revolting to the thoughts of civilized beings. We found in these states in which the tenant farmer or tenant worker has grown so fast that entire families—this working force—make something less than \$300 a year, this amount being the product of the continuous hard labor of the whole family."

"When, however, I speak of a man's property right in his job I do not refer to those people that are held under this system of slavery or yearly contracts where the owner of the farm dictates a certain crop that the man shall raise, and that represents the economic conservation at the end of every year, so that he must rub it off and begin to total over again. No, I do not refer to them, but I refer to the property rights in their jobs of the mechanic, the skilled mechanic and men of other crafts. From the moment such a worker sets the first stick of his home—I don't care whether he owns it or whether it is built up—economic interests run it. He begins to maintain property and property right in that community. From the minute he buys something in a store he is beginning to pay taxes. Every time he rides upon a street car, he pays taxes. From the moment he sends a child to school, he is beginning to pay his share, and more than his share, for the education of his children. Every sewer that is built belongs partly to him and that taxes are larger in the case of a producer and worker is shown by the government statistics. His property is easily ascertainable, and outside of the question of personal property tax he pays the tax imposition in any municipality. And if a man now is discharged from his job he loses every one of these property rights. Sometimes we think they forget human rights and only conserve property rights but I want to stand here in your presence and say that I am ashamed of the government that protects great property and looks perhaps with ill-consideration upon the smaller property of the working man, which he loses if he is subjected to the whim of an employer, who can discharge him."

"So, I can say that the question of the right of protection against arbitrary discharge, the right to use the only means that God has given us to live and to work out our own salvation, comes as a part of the inherent right of life and in any properly organized industrial system, the right of that protection could never be denied."

"As a result of the study I have been able to make, it is my belief that there is one other point that transcends these original rights of every man who toils. The commission on Industrial Relations declared concisely what every gov-

ernment commission has declared, what every sub-division of government, state, municipality, etc. has declared; what every board of hygiene appointed by the government, what every educator has declared for the last 20 years, at least, namely, That the physical well-being, the mental development and the recreational needs of men and women demand that they should not be compelled to work more than eight hours a day. I predict that the march for the eight hour day is going to receive an impetus within the next three months that will carry it into countless industries in the U. S. and no man or woman can successfully deny the fundamental truth of what I have uttered upon this subject."

"Every constitution of free men says that we are entitled to pursue and practice a healthy, clean pleasure in life. I do not understand how any man would be willing, on account of any interest, to place a curb upon the happiness of his brother man, and if recreational needs demand that the human being shall work not more than eight hours a day, then I say that that reason arises just as big as that of physical well-being and mental development, because they run together, and it is found that a man cannot reach his highest degree of development unless he is free from care and feels a medium of the voice that God has put into the hearts of all of His creatures."

"Now then, my friends, with this proven basis, we reach the principles that animate us today. We have an exhibition here of four intelligent crafts, having first at heart, as they properly should have, the well-being of their own membership, but animated to do something higher and nobler than that, if I mistake not, and that is to aid in the advancement of the whole race, the building up of the family life, the strengthening of the state that goes to make a strong nation, of independent and free people."

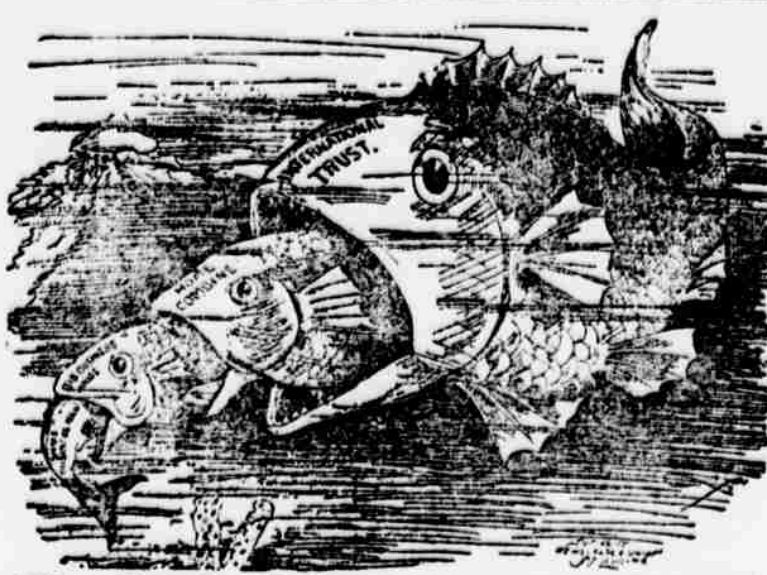
"Unless I am mistaken, these ideals animate you, and we will not lose sight of the fact, nor will the public lose sight of it, that what you have done so far has been done by bitter struggle. I need to make no argument here, as I have had the pleasure of doing many times in gatherings of a more public character. We understand exactly what this movement means. We understand this demand made as it is by men who have risen to the door of freedom, economically, and who propose that their crafts shall be emancipated from intolerable employment conditions. This is going to be the greatest exhibition of solidarity of labor, I think, that has ever been given in these United States. And I might have said to this gentleman, as I have said many times in public gatherings, the thinking power that the worker has when expressed brightly, and with a view to bringing about proper conditions, is neither a bad thing for himself nor a bad thing for the community of which he is an integral part."

Pemiscot county is reforming some more. According to the Argus 49 persons mostly negroes were arrested at a Levee Camp and jailed. Gambling and bootlegging were the awful crimes charged against them. Looks like officers watch the pay-day of work people so as to get the little money they earn. On this occasion the prosecuting attorney was very generous and distributed the cases among the three justices at Caruthersville, so that all could get some "coffee money." But the Pemiscot county officials who got away with over \$40,000 of the people's money could not be made to cough up. That's different.

**LABOR AND CAPITAL.**  
Said Lincoln: "The resources, advantages and powers of the American people are very great and they have consequently succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have devolved upon them whether a government established on the principles of freedom can be maintained against an effort to build up upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage."

"It is not needed here nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else owns capital, somehow by the use of it, induced him to labor. This is wrong. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the highest consideration."

Read the unmuzzled Kicker.



The Capitalist "System" at Work.

#### THE SHELL GAME.

Congress has now been in session eight months and I want some good Democratic editor or orator to tell me what it has done for the great mass of people except spend millions of dollars of money gouged from them through indirect tax.

Come on ye patriots. Mention just one good act. It is as I see it, about as rotten a congress as ever disgraced a nation. One thing they have harped on a great deal is their regional bank scheme, which was going to finance the farmer and save his bacon. Ask the cotton farmers what it did for them two years ago.

If they really wanted to do something for the many, they could easily do it. We have a postal savings bank system started that is carefully constructed not to "hurt" business. It has all of the earmarks of a postal savings bank system except those features beneficial to the public. The government will save your money on deposit and pay it to the banks at about 2-1/4 per cent. But it won't loan it to a citizen at any price. As it stands the thing is only a feeder for the banks.

Irresistible pressure from the people forced the Republicans to give us some sort of a postal banking system. Every nation on earth that has any claim to progress has postal savings banks. In no other country is the power the financial interest as absolute as here. And nowhere is our postal banking system such a mockery. It is money-combed with flab-dubbery and red tape until you can hardly find it. Yet the people are so anxious for government banks where their money will be safe that over half a million undergo the punishment and deposit with the government.

Irresistible pressure also forced a Republican congress to give us a parcels post that wouldn't interfere with the express companies. It also was loaded down with a cargo of red tape and the amount limited to a few pounds. But when the people get a taste of a good thing they keep on hammering for more. Hence the red tape has been removed and the weight increased until now we have a fairly satisfactory parcels post system.

Congress gave to the postmaster general the power to improve both the parcels post and banking system as developments would warrant. The improvements in the parcels post exceed my expectations—considering the power of the express companies and allied interests. But the banks are not going to let anything like that happen in the banking business. The limit that anyone could deposit in a postal savings bank was \$100 in any one month, and not exceeding \$500 in any one year. In April the papers told you that congress had done something for us. They said it had fixed it so you could deposit \$1,000 a year, instead of \$500. But all of the red tape remains, and only the banks can get this money at 2-1/4 per cent.

Those, our so-called representatives, didn't want the postal savings system to do to the banks what the parcels post is doing to express companies. As soon as it had become better understood, the people would have forced the government to loan to them at the same rate that it is now loaning to banks, and the banks could see their finish. Therefore the representatives of "the people" keep the lid on.

**Do You Want a Home?**  
We own and offer for sale 26 acres of land, with young orchard of 1,600 fruit trees and an acre or more of berries, food house, all fenced—bargain terms.  
Campbell & Anderson, Commerce.

#### THE MONKEYS.

What is selling for \$1.10. Geo. but these Democratic panic prices are hard on Mississippi county farmers.—Charleston Enterprise.

Of course you have seen the monkey that performs along with the street organ-grinder. When I read a Democratic editorial about present day prosperity, saturated in the blood of the human race, I am reminded of the street organ-grinder's monkey—with apologies to the street organ-grinder's monkey.

Nevertheless, the price of wheat may be, the administration at Washington has nothing to do with it—be it Republican or Democratic. It is the system—and both old parties stand for that. The present, or capitalist system breeds monopoly, and it is the grain monopoly that tells the farmer what he must take for his products.

But let us admit that wheat is \$1.10. How much has the farmer got? Most of them around here complain that they got less than half a crop. If we are to consider \$1.10 a good price at threshing time, let a farmer take his \$1.10 to the store and see if he can buy as much with it as he could with 75 cents a few years ago. Let him try it on sugar, since the holy tariff for revenue only was put on.

If it is fair to credit the Washington government with the so-called high price of wheat, why not credit it with the high price of sugar, gasoline and so on.

It is an inhuman system that depends on one half of the world being engaged in murdering each other in order that a FEW of the other half may have "prosperity." Stop the traffic in war supplies and the country will be as dead as a door nail. Whatever prosperity we may be enjoying is at the expense and suffering of our brothers across the sea—our CHRISTIAN brothers, by Heck!

This Charleston editor is about as bright as a local editor who boosted up Wilson prosperity last week by showing that the people had deposits in the banks of Scott county amounting to over \$1,000,000—or over \$500 per head. But how much of this do you suppose is to the credit of the tenant farmers and wage earners? During the same week the bank statements were published. The editor had cared to be fair, he would have given the loans of these banks—showing that the people owed these banks more than their total deposits—to say nothing about the hundreds of thousands of dollars borrowed from insurance companies and elsewhere.

These debts to the banks that amount to more than the total deposits are not very largely owed by wage earners and tenant farmers. The men who borrow from the banks are the small home-owning farmers and the business and professional men—the middle class. And one by one these drop down into the ranks of the down-and-outs.

#### IN MEXICO.

That was a real good joke on the manufacturers of dope about Mexico for the daily newspapers. They killed Villa and had him buried for a week. To prove it, they found the woman who nursed him during his last week on earth. They dug up the body and there was the gangreen leg and all. The identification was perfect.

What their plan was for this I cannot imagine. A blind man could see that with Villa dead we would have to invent a new excuse for keeping our troops in Mexico. And the blunderers discovered this and brought Villa to life again.

Then we were all but allowed to forget him. We heard only of "Villa bandits," but never of Villa himself. Not until late. Just now everybody in Mexico is going back on Carranza. He is weak. His generals, officers and soldiers are deserting him and joining Villa. Villa is again the hero of the hour—according to the kept press. He may be dead, but that doesn't bother the professional liars in the least. But I predict that if any real opposition to Carranza develops it will be headed by Felix Diaz, at whose home in New Orleans the plot was laid.

So long as the workers take the advice of the boss on political matters the boss will remain boss.

#### HASNT IMPROVED ANY.

Wm. H. Stubbiefield is getting considerable newspaper notoriety in Cape Girardeau. Billy used to be a citizen of Scott county, and while here he tried to run every thing until he ran himself out.

He moved to Cape Girardeau, bought stock in the Standard bank and became its president. And it wasn't long until Billy began to regulate Cape Girardeau. Billy's "other suit" is religion and temperance. He has huge stores of that. Billy will invest in a church or a preacher as quickly as in a race horse—the only consideration being that he must have absolute control. To differ with him in opinion is to be wrong—absolutely wrong. Billy has the divine guidance.

He is credited with being one of the chief promoters of the recent "moral" meeting held at Cape Girardeau at which the ex-convicts pulled down a thousand dollars at the last round up performance.

During this "moral" affair one of the "moral divines" who was active in saving souls, flew the coop. His name is Rev. B. Wade Hampton, D. D., and held a pulpit at Cape Girardeau. The papers report there was a woman in the case.

After his departure relates the Cape Tribune, he went to Mrs. Hampton, to collect a note for \$127 due the bank from her departed husband, loaned on his personal note. From this it would appear that there was no security, and that Billy assumed the risk. It would also seem that this would put the preacher under obligations to Billy and the bank—just as a chattel mortgage puts the tenant farmer under obligations to his merchant or his landlord.

But the preacher was gone and could be no further use to Billy. Hence he was on the prowl to get a return of his investment. According to the Tribune, Billy persuaded the deceived wife to sign a lien on her furniture to cover the loan. Says the Tribune:

"After the story of the Rev. Mr. Stubbiefield obtained upon her furniture was told Mrs. Hampton was told by Prosecuting Attorney J. Henry Caruthers that Stubbiefield had no right to touch a piece of her property and he said the lien obtained was not worth the paper it was written upon."

All of this would not be so bad if the Tribune and not told the story. After the story appeared Billy went back to the deserted widow and severely scolded her for telling it. These "good" people don't always want it known what they are doing. It gives them to have a newspaper speak of them, except in the highest terms.

To prevent just such happenings the banks carry advertisements in all the "good" newspapers. But I notice that the Standard bank does not advertise in the Tribune.

#### THE TRUTH COMING OUT.

New York, July 15.—American financiers are responsible for all trouble between the United States and Mexico, according to David Starr Jordan, chancellor emeritus, Leland Stanford university, in an address before the annual meeting here of the American School Peace League.

"I have been close to the sufferings of this little country," said he, "and I have also been close to the flock of vultures not so distant who are really prompting war and talk of war, and my opinion has not been changed a whit since coming here, for this is the vulture city. It was the vultures who planned raids across the border and not Mexican bandits, and it is the vultures who would have you believe that resort to arms is needed to restore order."

"Villa is a wild, untamed Indian, said by his friends to have virtues but that is doubtful. Sometimes dead and sometimes alive, he is within the price tool of the American war vultures. Carranza if left alone gives every promise of becoming the savior of his people. "Mexico has within herself," added Dr. Jordan, "the power of regeneration. No interference with arms will aid her. The real issue is a rising of the Mexican people against privilege. And it is to protect privilege that the vultures of our financial world would force intervention or war."

Dr. Jordan added that sending of northern troops to this climate was a great mistake, and they would accomplish nothing. "Outside of New York and the other large cities of the east," he continued, "there is no war spirit or desire for bloodshed in Mexico. In the border cities, where the intervention spirit is fanned, it is invariably due to a class in the employ of capitalists anxious to get at the vast fields of oil and minerals of Mexico."

The audience was very sympathetic, applauding almost every sentence and sometimes being moved to big demonstrations of approval.

#### DO IT YOURSELF.

No reform, moral or intellectual, ever came from the upper classes of society. Each and all came from the protest of the martyr and the victim. The emancipation of the working people must be achieved by the working people themselves.—Wendell Phillips.

Read the unmuzzled Kicker.

#### WORKERS AND SHIRKERS.

By Carl D. Thompson.  
A miner without a mine, a shoemaker without a shoe factory, a farmer without land, are in the same predicament as the hunter without a gun. They cannot follow their vocations unless they get the use of capital or land belonging to the employer fellow.

The heart and soul of capitalism is the separation of ownership and labor and the resultant division of mankind in two classes, one of which owns the means of life and does not use them, and the other that uses the means of life and does not own them. This arrangement permits a few people to live without work and force the many to work without getting a living.

The aim of socialism is to bring about a union of ownership and labor by making the means of production the common property of all the people.

The principal means of life are controlled by great aggregations of capital, commonly called trusts. These giant combinations, by forcing the wages of labor down to the very minimum of subsistence and by charging for their products at that the traffic will bear have become a serious menace to the well-being of all the American people and all kinds of remedies are advocated against the evils of monopoly.

Some want us to regulate the trusts. We have tried that for 50 years. And the more we regulate the trusts, the less we have to eat and wear and the more the trusts grow up.

Others want us to try to "bust" the trusts. So we have tried that for 50 years. And the more we bust the trusts the more the trusts bust us.

So we conclude that the Socialists are right when they say that the best way to regulate the trusts and the best way to bust the trusts is for the nation to own the trusts. This would bring about the union of ownership and the use of the means of production. Those who must use the railroads, the mines, the mills and the factories would own them collectively through the government. Those who own these essentials of life, but do not use them except as a club with which to rob the workers, would be eliminated. The club would be taken away from them.

All could find work. All would be freed from robbery and exploitation, nobody could live off the labor of anybody else, and economic justice could be established.

**ALL THINGS SAVE ONE.**  
From the Milwaukee Leader.  
Rulers will do all things save get off the backs of their subjects. Tolstoi said this many years ago. Every hour since has proved its truth.

Labor asks for higher wages, shorter hours, better guarded machinery, opportunity for leisure, and education. But more than any of these and all of these, it needs and must have liberty and the right to rule its own life.

It is this demand that sets Socialism apart from all reform measures. So long as the capitalist can be master of his own house he will concede much. He will build parks, schools, museums. He will establish foundations, and pour out charity. But these things must be handed out as he wishes them.

Here is where Socialism parts company with the reformer, the philanthropist, the social secretary, the welfare worker. Here the doctrine and the larger fact of the class struggle pushes all these aside.

In every society the class that has leaved the essentials of production of wealth has ruled.

Sometimes these essentials were canoes and hunting grounds. Sometimes they were broad estates and high castles.

Today they are the great machines in the shops—the engines, turbines, wires, wheels, telephones and multitudes of instruments with which the work of the world is done.

Those who own these have no need of work. They have no need of brains. Harry Thaw in Maryland gathered wealth faster than any wage worker in the steel mills of Pittsburgh.

To hold this place upon the backs of the workers, all the lines that carry impressions to the minds of the masses are watched and manipulated. The press sings praises of the enterprise of owners. Statesmen write laws to protect ownership. Poets and patriots praise the government that protects ownership and stamps as treason any effort to divert that state from the task of crushing those who would revolt against the robbery of the propertyless by the propertied.

While class rule remains, all else is secure. There may be times when the owners will find it advisable to be good to their subjects. It is more than 2,000 years since Roman rulers learned that the surest way to retain mastery is to feed and amuse their slaves.

Socialism strikes at the root of mastery. It demands a working-class ruling itself, educating itself, directing its own institutions and preparing to rule society. It demands that the masters get off our backs—not that they put cushions under the saddle and jingle bangles before our eyes.

If you want the truth, you must read the unmuzzled Kicker.